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ABSTRACT

Recent studies portray African education in a state of stress. Since it is widely believed that education is critical to development, proposals for addressing this crisis have been numerous and frequent. A knowledge base of research studies has to be created to advise the external agencies that support education in Africa. Many studies were, however, incomplete and non-scholarly. The resulting reports were not widely circulated, as they carried access restrictions imposed by the sponsoring agency. This paper attempts to provide an overview of education sector studies in Africa. It contains an introduction to over 100 studies submitted through August, 1989; a review of the major themes; and an analytical commentary on what is and what is not contained in the studies. The emerging consensus from these studies about what is wrong with African education and how it ought to be restructured is discussed. Four themes appear in most of the studies: (1) the curriculum does not match the job market; (2) a larger share of the cost of education should be paid by the students and their parents; (3) the authority and responsibility for schools should be decentralized to improve local responsiveness and efficiency and to decrease corruption; and (4) internal and external efficiency are useful standards for evaluating educational policies, programs, and expenditures in all countries. The appendix contains a listing of the studies by country with UNESCO Database numbers. (ALL)

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Joel Samoff

> It is not uncommon to find a teacher standing in front of 80-100 pupils who are sitting on a dirt floor in a room without a roof, trying to convey orally the limited knowledge he has, and the pupils trying to take notes on a piece of wrinkled paper using as a writing board the back of the pupil in front of him. There is no teacher guide for the teacher and no textbooks for the children.[1]

Introduction

Education everywhere in Africa is in crisis. Though some countries seem to have managed the situation better than others, nearly everywhere children crowd the school house doors, pupils share books and even desks, schools are under-staffed and poorly equipped, and teachers are often under-qualified or poorly prepared for their particular assignments. Nearly everywhere those who complete school complain that they cannot find employment. Yet, as leaders and educators worry about the educated unemployed, they also lament the lack of personnel with education and training appropriate to fill positions in key sectors and the resulting continued reliance on expatriate expertise.

There have also been some striking successes—for example, in achieving universal primary education or reducing adult illiteracy—though they have proved difficult to maintain. In general however, recent studies portray African education in a state of stress, hardly able to hold its own and only infrequently capable of sustaining a reform initiative.

Especially since it is widely believed, both inside and outside Africa, that education is critical to development (however that is defined locally), proposals for addressing this crisis have been numerous and frequent. Proposing remedies, of course, requires addressing the origins, evolution, and persistence of the crisis, or perhaps crises, in African education. It is useful, therefore, to explore the specification of the problem(s) and the understandings of African education that have emerged during the past decade. I am concerned here particularly with the knowledge base that has been created to advise the external agencies that support education in Africa.[2]

Such studies are numerous and influential but not widely circulated. Since even those that are circulated carry access restrictions imposed by the sponsoring agency, the affected government(s), or both, these studies are little consulted outside the community of assistance agency personnel and they consultants they employ. To facilitate broader access to relevant findings, UNESCO (specifically, the Operational Policy and Sector Analysis Division of the Bureau for Coordination of Operational Activities [BAO-PSA]) has undertaken to prepare for the Task Force of Donors to African Education an analytic overview of education sector studies. The discussion here provides an introduction to those studies, a review of the major themes they treat, and an analytical commentary on what is and what is not contained in those studies. Appendix A lists the studies received by BAO-PSA through August, 1989.

New studies of this sort continue to appear. Both methodologies for studying African education and what are taken to be reliable findings—what we "know"—are periodically revised. Like many of the studies themselves, overviews are already outdated the moment they appear. At the same time, there is a striking continuity in underlying perspectives and approaches, in part reflecting the increasingly prominent role of the World Bank as both funding and research agency in this area. Hence, although some of the

studies included in this survey will surely be revised or even discarded, they do constitute basic knowledge about African education. Since even those studies that are subsequently discounted or discarded by their original authors continue to influence analyses and policy, it is important to explore what they have to say and what they do not discuss.

Recent Assistance Agency Sponsored Education Studies

The 100+ studies reviewed are widely divergent in scope, content, form, and purpose, defying categorization.[3] Some are in fact not presented as studies but rather as statements of policy. Some treat particular educational concerns across all of Africa or all of the Third World (for example, [il]literacy and adult education). Others are overviews of what is commonly called the education sector, usually encompassing the responsibilities and activities of the Ministry (or Ministries) of Education, both formal and non-formal, generally including the educational programs of non-governmental and private organizations, and occasionally addressing the educational activities of other institutions (for example, local government, or the Ministry of Community Development). Others are studies of a particular level of education (for example, primary education, or higher education), or a particular policy (for example, a national educational reform, or universal primary education), or a particular dimension of educational governance or administration (for example, educational finance). Still others focus on topics specific to a particular educational assistance agency (for example, the annual report on cooperative activities undertaken within the context of a bilateral assistance agreement, or a review of expenditures within an externally funded improvement program).

Some of these studies are detailed and lengthy and include extensive statistical information. Others are more discursive, intended to contribute to a 'reflection' or a 'dialogue' between assistance agency and government, or to the definition of problems to be addressed and the specification of projects to be supported. By far, the majority of these studies have been prepared by and/or for the World Bank, both directly and through its cooperative arrangements with other agencies and African governments.

Education Sector Studies: An Incomplete Set

Extensive as it is, this set of studies remains incomplete. Studies that warrant inclusion in this overview effort but that were not received are of several sorts.

First, many of the agencies that were responsive to UNESCO's request for documentation on education sector studies have undertaken studies and prepared reports in addition to those they supplied to BAO-PSA. The studies prepared by and for other international and governmental agencies constitute a second gap. Also missing, third, are the studies commissioned by non-governmental organizations. Fourth are the studies stimulated by education assistance agencies and subsequently published as books, of which only a few were sent to UNESCO for inclusion in this survey.

Perhaps most striking and most important is the general absence of academic studies. Even though the two categories—assistance agency studies and academic research—overlap to some extent, there seems at first glance to be a very broad gap between what scholars and education consultants read, say, and do. Although there are important exceptions, only rarely does the one group refer explicitly to the work of the other, or, apparently, draw on the findings of the other.

There is, of course, a tradition of distinguishing between pure and applied research. An academic researcher might well study, for example, how children develop competence in grammar without

considering whether or not the findings of that study will be useful to educators, and indeed without attempting to bring those findings to the attention of educators. Similarly, a consultant might well examine whether or not actual expenditures were consistent with the provisions of an assistance program without studying explicitly organizational behavior, and indeed without attempting to bring the findings on expenditures to the attention of students of organizational behavior. Nonetheless, this disjunction between pure and applied educational research is especially unfortunate in a setting where it is claimed that decisions about priorities and focus and therefore about the allocation of substantial resources rely heavily on research findings.

In practice, the absence of the academic studies is more significant than is initially apparent. Many of the studies submitted claim to be influenced by and to base their recommendations on recent research. That research, however, is rarely cited. Instead, the studies commonly refer to summaries of research, for example to the World Bank's *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion*. That summary in turn, and others like it, commonly refer to what "some analysts" have said (p. 39), or to "substantial evidence from research" and "the increasing body of evidence" (p. 40), or to "a few existing findings" (p. 63). That is, policy-related reports rarely refer directly to research but instead refer to summaries of research. Those summaries assert that their analyses and recommendations rest on solid research but rarely identify the specific studies on which they rely. Readers are then left to wander through the Bibliography or List of References, guessing by their titles which study is deemed to support which understanding.

In other words, an African educator asked to review an education assistance agency study might encounter the claim that for classes with 25-60 pupils there is little advantage in reducing class size. The study reviewed would provide no clear path to follow to identify and review the research reported as supporting that claim. Without reviewing the original research, it is impossible to know whether or not its findings reflect circumstances significantly different from those in which other projects are established. Similarly, the research may have been completed so long ago that reforms adopted in the interim reduce the current validity of its findings. Perhaps the research was simply poorly done and therefore not an adequate guide for policy. In short, neither the original research itself or its generalizability is accessible to scrutiny.

The obstacles to evaluating critically the research that provides the authority and legitimacy for broad generalizations is compounded by the relatively small pool of consultants who undertake education sector studies. There are clearly benefits in employing academic researchers as consultants. Education assistance agencies find it convenient to work with the same consultants over many years and across many projects. These practices do, however, limit the exposure of education sector studies to systematic and critical external evaluation.

Common Concerns, Common Themes

Students of education have historically drawn on a diverse set of approaches, reflecting divergent fundamental assumptions, theoretical perspectives, methodological orientations, and specifications of what is, and ought, to be studied. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find radically different interpretations of the same education system or set of educational experiences.

Recent education sector studies, however, though not identical in their approaches, reflect a generally shared set of concerns. In specifying what to look for and how to do that these studies are strikingly similar. In part, that reflects their common starting points. They have all been commissioned by agencies formally charged to assist educational development in Africa by intervening in the decision

making and policy implementation processes and by granting and lending funds for that purpose. Still, that different studies in different countries undertaken by different agencies have so much in common suggests either a striking convergence of thought or the powerful influence of particular agencies or individuals.

These common concerns include:

- A concern with the *impact, effectiveness, and quality of education*, either across the education sector generally on within the specific domain on which the study is focused.
- A concern with *access:* what part of the population of the appropriate age is served by the educational system, and in particular how has the educational system addressed equality and equity of access.
- A concern with the *education sector institutional network*, including
  - The expectation that the institutional arrangements of the education sector are inadequate in some significant way: overlapping responsibilities, lack of coordination between different levels and/or branches, insufficiently precise demarcation of lines of authority.
  - The expectation that decentralized authority and responsibility will facilitate more responsive, more efficient, more participatory, and less corrupt, educational management.
- A concern with *educational finance*, both revenues and expenditures, with a particular interest in:
  - The effectiveness of budgetary management and control.
  - Revenue generated from non-governmental sources, both directly and indirectly, and including but not limited to fees paid by students and their families.
- The assertion of the importance of an *increased role for the private sector* in African education, including
  - Non-governmental schools, both those created and managed by non-profit agencies and those owned and operated by profit-seeking entrepreneurs.
  - Private sector school funding, not necessarily including directly operating schools.
- The expectation that *non-governmental organizations* will play an increasingly important role in African education, especially the bilateral and multilateral education assistance agencies and the organizations they support.
- An interest in the *vocational content of the curriculum* at different levels, including
  - The long-standing view that schools in Africa over-emphasize academic (compared to practical) education and over-emphasize literature and the arts (and correspondingly under-emphasize mathematics and science) and that this inappropriate curricular orientation creates a shortage of personnel for critical skilled positions and thus a continued reliance on expatriates.

- Several inter-related issues that are currently sharply debated by students of African education:
  - The appropriate level at which pre-vocational and vocationalized instruction should be introduced.
  - Whether explicitly vocational training ought to be included in the curriculum of all schools or, alternatively, ought to be offered in either specifically vocational educational institutions or on the job.
  - The extent to which employers should pay directly part or all of the costs of vocational training.

- A concern with the *developmental benefits of education* (often offered as a justification for investments in education), including a wide range of social benefits (for example, improved nutrition and health, smaller family sizes).

- An interest in the *responses within the education sector to the current African economic crisis and to the various adjustment programs* adopted by different African governments.

A careful reading of these studies shows clearly that many of these concerns are not simply things-to-look-for but are as well the manifestations of a broadly shared sense of what is wrong with African education and how it ought to be restructured. That becomes even clearer in the several substantive themes that recur prominently in many, though of course not all, of these studies. That these themes guide the inquiries of so many of these studies again suggests either a surprising theoretical convergence or a powerfully influential unifying impulse.

Common wisdom on education in Africa in the 1980s seems to include, for example, a strong sense of a mismatch between school curriculum and the labor market. That is, it is widely assumed that schools in Africa are not preparing their students well for existing job opportunities, especially in the unregistered economy (what is often called the "informal sector"). This mismatch is assumed to explain a part, and perhaps a major part, of the unemployment of school leavers, and hence is a principal focus for reform efforts. A curriculum more attuned to job opportunities—both those that currently exist and those that the students themselves could create—would, it is assumed, decrease unemployment and the frustration and social dislocation it carries with it.

A second theme prominent in many of these studies is the expectation that students and their families can and should pay directly a larger share of the costs of their education. A corollary is the expectation that other non-governmental sources of educational funding will need to be found in order simultaneously to increase the quantity and improve the quality of education and reduce the burden on the public treasury.

Faith in the decentralization of authority and responsibility for managing schools is a third theme that appears in many of these studies. That decentralization is expected to improve local responsiveness and efficiency and to decrease corruption.

Fourth, nearly all of these studies take *internal efficiency* and *external efficiency* to be widely and commonly understood, appropriate, and useful standards for evaluating educational policies, programs, and expenditures in all countries.

Themes and Concerns Not Addressed

These studies are equally striking in what they do not address. Although it is beyond the scope of this brief overview to compile a detailed list of potential concerns in African education that receive little or no attention in these studies, it is useful to note briefly several issues that seem to be of lesser interest within the context of multilateral and bilateral educational assistance.

First, there is little attention to the sorts of goals set by African governments and educators (generally in addition to and not instead of internal and external efficiency, relevance, and the like). Among those goals, often specified in general education policy statements, are:

- The expectation that education will implant and nurture an inquiring and critical orientation toward the local setting and the world at large and foster the sense of curiosity that makes learning self-rewarding. Indeed, there is little explicit attention in these studies to *learning*.
- The expectation that education will promote national unity and especially the national integration of diverse ethnic, cultural, religious, racial, and regional communities.
- The expectation that education will equip and encourage young people to become effective citizens in their society (defined in some countries to emphasize citizen participation in decision making and governance more generally and in other societies to emphasize loyalty, obedience, and discipline).
- The expectation that basic education will develop in young people a sense of individual and collective competence, self-reliance, and self-confidence.
- The expectation that schools reduce the elitist orientations students are inclined to adopt, promote in students a sense of national responsibility, and develop among students a respect for manual labor.
- The expectation that schools are the appropriate site for political education: instruction on the community, the society, and the state and on the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship.

Second, none of the studies reviewed addresses the actual magnitude of educational assistance, either within the context of a particular project or across the education sector more generally. Some assistance funds, of course, are spent to purchase materials and to engage personnel in the source country. Loan assistance creates a debt obligation that eventually requires repayment.

The 1988 World Bank report on World Development points with concern to a net outflow of capital from African countries via debt repayment. Nonetheless, these studies do not address this problem directly, with the result that they do not offer guidance on assessing reverse flows (through debt repayment, through support funds spent on products and personnel in the country providing the assistance, through the expatriation of personnel educated within or by a supported project, or in some other form) or the direction of the net flow.

Third, there is little explicit attention in these studies to the eventual Africanization of the process of evaluating and reforming African education. That is, although some studies do address institution-building and the development of local research capacity, few address the transfer of responsibility for these very studies—specifying their content and orientation as well as conducting them—to African governments, educators, and other scholars.

Viewed broadly, these studies reflect an agenda, an orientation, and a process that is largely externally determined, in which African governments and educators are perhaps collaborators but essentially junior partners. Over time, surely, that agenda, orientation, and process must be Africanized. Consequently, how that transfer of responsibility is to occur warrants systematic attention in the present, as a prominent feature of the current cooperation between education assistance agencies and African governments.

Retrospective and Prospective, but not Introspective

Education is, or ought to be, an inherently critical process. Studies of education should be no exception. Especially where evaluations and recommendations claim to rest on a foundation of careful and systematic research, it is appropriate, indeed necessary, that those conducting these studies be sensitive to and address the weaknesses and deficiencies of their guiding assumptions, analytic approaches, and methodologies. Yet, these studies are as a whole strikingly un-self-critical. Although here, too, it is beyond the scope of this brief overview to develop an extended critique of education sector studies, several areas that merit critical attention are worth noting.

- Although some of these studies (along with a good deal of the scholarly literature) note gaps, inconsistencies, and inaccuracies in official education statistics, those problems and their consequences for policy are generally ignored. For example, observed year-to-year variations are often smaller than the margin of error in the official statistics. Consequently, what appear to be changes—say, in the number of participants in adult literacy programs, or in the percentage of total national expenditure allocated to education—may, or may not, in fact be important changes. To assume that the observed variation is significant, and to project annual variation into a secular trend, risks predicating policies on random fluctuations or 'background noise.'

- A similar problem occurs in the use of expenditure data. Much of the data commonly used is drawn not from audited reports of actual expenditures but from budget projections. In many, perhaps most, African countries, however, there is often a significant difference between the expenditures projected at the beginning of the fiscal year and the funds actually expended. This problem is compounded when budget projections in one year are compared with actual expenditures in another. It is also compounded when budget projections for the entire education sector are used as a baseline for evaluating actual expenditures on a particular project or program.

- Even though some of the studies reviewed pointed with concern to these problems with official statistics and expenditure data, very few of these studies sought to generate their own data independent of those from official sources.

- In some African countries responsibility for education is spread across several ministries, departments, and other governmental (and perhaps non-governmental) units. Decentralization will further diffuse educational administration and finance. Yet many of these studies equate the Ministry(ies) of Education with the education sector, thus ignoring the activities and expenditures of other ministries and departments (for example, Local Government, Community Development, Youth, Women, Culture, Sports), of local government authorities, of churches, and of other non-governmental organizations. To take an extreme example, what may appear at first glance to be a significant decline in expenditures on education may in fact be the transfer of both funds and spending authority from the Ministry(ies) of Education to some other institution.

- These studies tend to accept uncritically the guiding assumptions, analytic framework, reported data, data analysis strategies, and substantive findings of the most active of the educational assistance agencies, especially the World Bank. Uncritical reliance on a single authority in any domain—however competent is that authority—is inherently problematic and especially undesirable in an arena—education—that emphasizes a critical approach.

  One example: several of the studies reviewed offer uncritically the proposition that "instructional materials are the most important determinant of educational performance." There may well be solid evidence for that assertion (though that evidence is generally neither presented nor directly cited), but surely its validity and utility are situationally circumscribed. That is, in some circumstances, notwithstanding the major importance of educational materials, teacher training, or class size, or time on task, or . . . ? may be even more important. Similarly, even where teaching materials are judged to be "the most important determinant of educational performance," situational factors may favor investment in some other aspect of the educational process.

  Each of the general propositions of this sort (others that commonly appear include, for example, the assertion that additional education for primary school teachers is not cost-effective and the assertion that up to 60 or so, class size does not affect educational performance) requires critical reading and a critical response, especially in terms of the particular characteristics of the local setting.

- Commonly and uncritically employed terms may obscure significant underlying policy issues. A few examples:

  "Cost recovery" is increasingly assumed to be an appropriate and high priority goal of educational improvement programs. As commonly used, "cost recovery" generally means increased direct payments by students and their families, generally with some provision for scholarships for the poorest segment of the population. (Note that in most African countries, where the primary source of government revenue is levies and other direct charges on exports—that is, indirect taxes on peasant production—students, and their families already provide the major source of education funding.) What proportion of the costs of public services, whether education, health, water, roads, or other, ought to be paid by the society as a whole and what proportion ought to be charged to users of those services essentially on a per-usage basis needs to be addressed as an issue of public policy and not simply as another mechanism for finding more funds for schools.

  As I have noted, "irrelevant education" is commonly used critically to refer to curriculum that is not explicitly linked to the rural agricultural communities that characterize most of contemporary Africa. There is surely little objection to the expectation that school curriculum should be sensitive to the settings from which students come and to those in which they will live. At the same time, it is clear (to take the extreme case) that if Africans learn neither to manipulate computers nor to design and produce them and the semiconductor chips on which they rely, the prospect of an integrated dynamic economy and a largely self-directed society is pushed indefinitely far into the future. If development requires, among other things, the creation of new understandings, new approaches, new technologies, and new products adapted to local conditions, then a curriculum that envisages a dramatically different future cannot be irrelevant for African schools. More prosaically, if development involves, among other things, increased agricultural productivity, which means fewer farmers feeding more people, then schools need to equip young people to do something more than pick up their parents' hoes.

More generally, surely schools and their curriculum ought not to limit their vision to society as it is currently constituted (or as educators, both local and foreign, currently understand it). To do so is to accept underdevelopment and poverty as an enduring given.

- It is increasingly asserted that schools ought to prepare young people for "entrepreneurship" in the "informal sector." This terminology assumes the importance of a distinction that may be of little significance to schools. "Informal sector" is a particularly unfortunate term, since it is used to refer to economic activities that are often quite formal and structured and that in many countries provide income to the majority of the employed population. What characterizes these activities is that they are generally not recorded in the official statistics on business and employment. "Unregistered" is perhaps a more appropriate descriptor, though it is not clear that the skills required to secure an income in "unregistered" activities are so different from those required in "registered" employment. Hence, although this distinction between registered and unregistered economic activities may have some utility to economists, it is not clear that it is particularly useful to educators.

  Equally important, this usage tends to obscure the underlying issue, which has to do with employment creation, not training. Employment creation is of course a complex process that may not be well understood anywhere. Emphasizing developing "entrepreneurship" for the "informal sector" locates in the schools an issue of much broader economic, political, and social significance, and one on which the schools may have little impact, no matter what they do.

- Finally, as is clear from the comments above, these studies generally emphasize what is quantifiable and de-emphasize what seems less amenable to counting. That reflects the contemporary emphasis on quantification in the social sciences, the apparent predominance of economists among those who commission, conduct, and read these studies, and the fact that these studies all revolve ultimately around programs of foreign assistance and thus expenditures. This emphasis, too, requires critical scrutiny. Particularly, it is essential within the context of education to develop strategies for paying more careful (and critical) attention to issues and expectations that may have very high priority and that at the same time may appear difficult to quantify.

Concluding Observations

Notwithstanding their ostensibly descriptive charter and character, education sector studies in practice define a terrain that is both intellectual and political. Sometimes explicitly, more often implicitly, they specify the core components of education (and development) and the appropriate relationship between education and development. As they do so, they effectively delimit what is to be studied and how studies are to be conducted. As they do that, they function to characterize important educational decisions as technical and administrative and thus to remove them from the political agenda. Education policy—perhaps the most political of the public policy arenas in contemporary Africa—becomes the province not of politicians but of those with certified technical and administrative expertise.

Those experts play a critical role in this process. They conduct and oversee the research on which they base their findings and recommendations. In an essentially inward-looking development community, they become the primary disseminators of that research, both directly and indirectly by serving as the principal summarizers and synthesizers of their own and others' research. Because the employing agencies require their authority and legitimacy as well as their expertise, those experts become the filters through which new ideas and critical initiatives must pass and the apparatus for screening newcomers and managing their incorporation into the community of experts. As well, having established the critical importance of

their expertise, they insure the continuity of global and external influence in African education policy, even as the local policy making process is formally Africanized.

Equally dramatic are the consequences for particular African countries of this process of research and advice by contract. Many of the external assistance have sought to Africanize their pool of consultants, or at least to insure that local consultants are active and visible in conducting research and preparing reports. They do so for both developmental (local experts are likely to be much better informed about local circumstances) and self-protective reasons (prominent local participation makes it more difficult to reject sector studies as external manipulation). Few African countries, however, have a pool of appropriately educated, certified, and experienced experts sufficiently large to meet this increasing demand for local consultants. In many countries nearly all the senior educational researchers work at least part time for external agencies,[4] and even so are too few and too busy to satisfy the demand for consultants. Especially where official salaries are insufficient to meet daily basic expenses, the external agencies' consulting opportunities provide a portion of basic (not simply supplementary) income. Although these local personnel remain nominally autonomous and although they can occasionally gain leverage by playing one external agency against another, they are loath to jeopardize their consulting relationships. The influence of their second paymasters is thus institutionalized.

Recruiting both expatriate and local personnel, the external agencies as a group, and the World Bank in particular, have perhaps become the principal employers of senior researchers on education in Africa.

Finally, it is important to recall that in this domain as in others, research commonly serves more to justify policy decisions than to guide them. These studies do that not only by using ostensibly objective and reliable research findings to support or oppose particular policy directions, but also by specifying what is and is not worthy of attention. Delimiting the legitimate discourse, they delegitimize particular policy content and priorities by excluding them from the discussion, and thereby from the action agenda.

The primary intellectual, developmental, and political initiatives in these sector studies are clearly external. In most of the studies reviewed the principal findings and final recommendations are embedded in the initial assumptions and approaches. As they are organized and presented, these studies generally have more to do with legitimizing policies than with setting them and more to do with guiding policy toward particular objectives and forms than with informing policy makers or populace. If the critical role of these studies is to legitimize particular policies and programs, it is not at all as clear as both the researchers and their sponsors claim that extensive studies lead to better projects.

Notes

1. The country is Tanzania. UNESCO, *United Republic of Tanzania: Education in Tanzania—Volume I, Overview* (Paris: March, 1989), p. 15.

2. The findings and observations reported here are drawn from a survey of recent education sector studies prepared for the Operational Policy and Sector Analysis Division, Bureau for Coordination of Operational Activities (BAO-PSA), UNESCO, in 1989 for the use of the Task Force of Donors to African Education, Action Group on Sector Studies. The studies reviewed reflect the work of a wide range of national and multinational agencies; the majority were prepared by or for the World Bank, both directly and through its cooperative arrangements with other agencies. Of the more than 100 studies reviewed, those published in 1988 and 1989 (44) were summarized in detail to create a database maintained by BAO-PSA. The observations and analysis are of course my own.

3. "Education sector study" is a widely used label that clearly has divergent interpretations among those concerned with education and development. Since my concern here is explore specifications of problem and solutions, I have been inclusive in my selection: I reviewed all papers received.

4. The relationship can become convoluted. There are now individuals who are formally employed within the national educational system and who are also employed by an assistance agency to do their own jobs (to undertake tasks that normally fall within their normal professional responsibilities). Effectively, they earn supplementary income by maintaining a preferred relationship with a particular agency. It seems clear that if the external agency were a transnational corporation—say, if a transnational pharmaceutical firm had on its payroll a senior health planner or the director of a hospital—this parallel employment would be regarded as a serious conflict of interest and perhaps institutionalized corruption. Education assistance agencies defend this practice as "the best way to recruit good local people" and "the only way to get the job done."

References

UNESCO, *United Republic of Tanzania: Education in Tanzania—Volume I, Overview* (Paris: March, 1989).

World Bank, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion* (Washington: The World Bank, 1988).

Appendix A: UNESCO Education Sector Study Data Base
List of Studies (by country)

Country	Study Title	UNESCO DB#*
Africa	Evaluation of EEC Projects and Activities in the Field of Statistical Training in Africa: Final Report	EurCom870700A
Angola	Processo Verbal da IX Consulta Técnica Anual da Cooperaçao entre a Republica Popular de Angola e o Reino da Suécia no Dominio das Pescas: Programa de Cefopescas	SIDA890203
Angola	Study on Fishery Training in Angola	SIDA850500A
Bénin	Benin: Review of Public Expenditures, 1985-90	WB880112
Bénin	Bénin: Review of Public Investment Program 1985	WB851000A
Bénin	Bénin: Memorandum sur le Secteur de l'Éducation	WB880115
Botswana	Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (BLS) Study of Public Administration Management: Issues and Training Needs (Volume II: Botswana)	WB860421B
Botswana	Botswana Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment	USAID840600A
Botswana	Botswana: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment Update, March 1986	USAID860300A
Botswana	Republic of Botswana: Annual Joint Review of the Swedish Support to Education 1989	SIDA890300A
Botswana	Evaluation Guidelines for the Formative Evaluation of Programmes and Activities of the Ministry of Education	Botswana880104
Botswana	Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project, Sixth Progress Report——October, 1988 through April, 1989	USAID890000B
Botswana	Public Expenditure and Development in Botswana	WB860603B
Botswana	Qualitative Context of Educational Change: Quality of Teacher Worklife and Self-Perceived Efficacy in Botswana's Junior Secondary School System	USAID890000A
Botswana	Vocal Teachers, Silent Pupils? Life in Botswana Classrooms	USAID890500A
Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland	Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (BLS) Study of Public Administration Management: Issues and Training Needs (Volume I: The Main Report)	WB860421A
Burkina Faso	Co-operation au Développement Burkina Faso	PNUD890300A
Burkina Faso	Coûts, Production et Difficultés de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Burkina Faso	WB880400A
Burkina Faso	Coûts, Financement et Politique de l'Éducation au Burkina Faso	WB870500A
Cap Vert	Cap Vert: Enseignement et Formation	UNESCO860200A
Comoros	Comoros: Education Sector Memorandum	WB850625
Côte d'Ivoire	Côte d'Ivoire: Public Sector Expenditure Review [Section on the Education Sector]	WB871015
Côte d'Ivoire	Côte d'Ivoire: Document de Travail sur les Ressources Humaines	WB890125
Côte d'Ivoire	République de Côte d'Ivoire: Education et Formation de Base pour l'Emploi dans le Secteur Informel et Rural en Côte d'Ivoire——Étude Sous-Sectorielle	WB880620
Djibouti	République de Djibouti: Éducation, formation et emploi (Tome I: Texte)	UNESCO880600A
Djibouti	République de Djibouti: Éducation, formation et emploi (Tome II: Annexes)	UNESCO880600B
East, Southern Africa	Education and Production in Theory and Action (EPTA): Learning from Networking in East and Southern Africa	Netherlands881100A
Ethiopia	Ethiopia: Education Sector Survey Update	WB860625
Ethiopia	Ethiopia: Education Sector Survey	WB850301
Ethiopia	Ethiopia: Public Investment Program Review	WB880205
Ethiopia	FINNIDA-Ethiopia: Report of the Project Identification Mission in the Field of Education, 30. June 1986 - 14. July 1986	FINNIDA860800A
Ethiopia	Ethiopia: Higher Education——Development of University Education	UNESCO881200A
Ethiopia	Agreed Minutes from the Joint Annual Education Sector Review, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 19 April - 5 May 1988	SIDA880500A
Gambia	Education Policy 1988-2003 (Republic of the Gambia, Sessional Paper No. 4, of 1988)	Gambia881108
Ghana (Western Africa Country Programs I)	Ghana: Priorities for Public Expnditures, 1986-88 [Sections on the Education Sector]	WB850813
Ghana	Basic Education for Self-Employment and Rural Development (Republic of Ghana): A Sub-Sector Study	WB890322
Ghana	Ghana: Education Sector Review and Proposed Investment Strategy	WB850809

Appendix A: UNESCO Education Sector Study Data Base
List of Studies (by country)

Country	Study Title	UNESCO DB#*
Ghana	Draft Project Proposal for Rehabilitation and Development of Technical Education and Vocational Training System in Ghana	WB850900A
Ghana	Public Expenditure Review: 1989-91——Republic of Ghana [Sections on the Education Sector]	WB890317
Kenya	Kenya: Public Expenditure Program: Review of the Forward Budget, FY87-89	WB860813
Kenya	Kenya: Public Expenditure Issues	WB890414
Kenya	Technical Secondary Schools in Kenya: An Assessment	SIDA851200A
Lesotho	Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (BLS) Study of Public Administration Management: Issues and Training Needs (Volume III: Lesotho)	WB860421C
Lesotho	Cost Effectiveness of Education in the Kingdom of Lesotho	WB850110
Lesotho	Public Expenditure Priorities in Lesotho	WB880928
Liberia	Liberia: Costs and Financing of Education	WB850807
Liberia	Towards the Twenty-First Century: Development-Oriented Policies and Activities in the Liberian Educational System	WB840900
Liberia	The Struggle Continues! World Bank and African Development Bank Investments in Liberian Educational Development (1972-1985)	WB860100
Madagascar	République Democratique de Madagascar: Priorités, contraintes et perspectives du développement de l'éducation (Tome I, Volumes I-II)	UNESCO860800A
Madagascar	République Démocratique de Madagascar: Priorités, contraintes et perspectives du développement de l'éducation (Tome II: Volumes III-IV)	UNESCO860800B
Madagascar	Poverty Alleviation in Madagascar: Country Assessment and Policy Issues	WB890215
Malawi	Malawi: Higher education problems, needs and priorities	UNESCO881000A
Malawi	Malawi: Public Expenditure Review [Section on the Education Sector]	WB880603
Malawi	Malawi: Teacher Training	UNESCO890200A
Mali	Analyse de l'Emploi 1987-2010: Pour une Restructuration de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Mali	WB880100A
Mauritius	Mauritius: Education Sector Policy Review	WB850614
Mozambique	Educaçao em Moçambique 1975-1984	SIDA860300A
Mozambique	Mozambique: Public Expenditure Review (Volume II) [Sections on the Education Sector]	WB890130B
Mozambique, Zambia	Education and Economic Crisis: The Cases of Mozambique and Zambia	SIDA871000A
Nigeria (Western Africa Region)	Nigeria: Public Expenditure Review (1986-90) [Section on Education Sector]	WB851025
Nigeria	The Education Sector in Kano State, Nigeria	WB851100A
Nigeria	Nigeria: Review of the Institutional Framework for the Management of the Education Sector	WB850212
Nigeria	Nigeria: Costs and Financing of Universities	WB881230
République Centrafricaine	Éducation et Formation: Situation et perspectives de développement (République Centrafricaine), Volume I	UNESCO850500A
République Centrafricaine	Éducation et Formation: Situation et perspectives de développement (République Centrafricaine), Volume II	UNESCO850500B
République de Guinée	Perspectives et contraintes du développement de l'éducation (République de Guinée)	UNESCO850800A
Rwanda	Republic of Rwanda: Education Sector Memorandum	WB850628
Rwanda	Rapport sur le Coût et Financement de l'Enseignement Primaire, Secondaire et Supérieur: Rwanda	WB890110
Rwanda	Rwanda: Public Expenditure Program——An Instrument of Economic Strategy (Volume II) [Sections on the Education Sector]	WB890411B
Rwanda	Rwandese Republic Specialized Training Study	WB860825
Sénégal	Republic of Senegal: Cost and Financing of Education	WB860218
Sénégal	Senegal: A Review of the Three-Year Public Investment Program, 1987/88-1989/90	WB870226
Sierra Leone (Western Africa Region)	Sierra Leone: Sectoral Programs and Expenditures of the Government	WB850913

Appendix A: UNESCO Education Sector Study Data Base
List of Studies (by country)

Country	Study Title	UNESCO DB#*
Sub-Saharan Africa: all countries	Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion	WB880100B
Sudan	Sudan: An Analysis of the Education and Training System and Recommendations for its Development (Volume I: Text)	UNESCO880500A
Sudan	Sudan: An Analysis of the Education and Training System and Recommendations for its Development (Volume II: Supporting Data)	UNESCO880500B
Swaziland	Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (BLS) Study of Public Administration Management: Issues and Training Needs (Volume IV: Swaziland)	WB860421D
Swaziland	Swaziland: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment, January 1984 (Volume I)	USAID840100A
Swaziland	Swaziland Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment, Volume II	USAID840100B
Tanzania (Zanzibar)	Education in Zanzibar	SIDA861000A
Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania: Education in Tanzania (Volume I: Overview——Summary of Key Issues and Proposals for Remedial Action)	UNESCO890300A
Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania: Education in Tanzania (Volume II: Technical Chapters——Key Issues and Proposals for Remedial Action)	UNESCO890300B
Tanzania	Tanzania: Public Expenditure Review (Volume II: Technical Report) [Section on Education Sector]	WB890227B
Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania: Development of Technical/Vocational and Agricultural Education and Training	UNESCO841000A
Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania: Annual Joint Review of the Swedish Support to Education and Vocational Training 1988 (Part I: General Education)	SIDA881000A
Third World-Third World	Evauation of Interinstitutional Cooperation: Synthesis Report	EurCom880900A
Third World	Evaluation of Six Technical Education and Vocational Training Projects and Review of 44 Financial Proposals (Extract from Synthesis Report: Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations)	BritCoun860200A
Third World	Evaluation of Six Technical Education and Vocational Training Projects and Review of 44 Financial Proposals: Synthesis Report	BritCoun860200B
Third World	Adult Literacy in the Third World: A Review of Objectives and Strategies	SIDA861000B
Third World	Vocational Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Studies and Project Experience	SIDA870800A
Uganda	The Financial Feasibility of Universal Primary Education in Uganda	WB870325
World	Outline of a Strategy for the Development of Human Resources and Innovative Knowledge: A Summary of the Sector Programme for Training, Education and Research within the framework of the Netherlands' Development Cooperation Policy	Netherlands-890100A
World	Dokumentregister Sammandrag	SIDA870000A
Zaire	Le Secteur Éducation et son Financement [Zaire] (Volume I: Rapport de Synthèse)	UNESCO890728A
Zaire	Le Secteur Éducation et son Financement [Zaire] (Volume II: Simulation du Développement du Système d'Éducation)	UNESCO890728B
Zaire	Le Secteur Éducation et son Financement [Zaire] (Volume III: Documents Complémentaires)	UNESCO890728C
Zambia	Zambia: Future FINNIDA Aid Strategy in the Zambian Education Sector (Report of the Project Identification Mission to Zambia in the Field of Education)	FINNIDA860815
Zambia	Zambia: Public Expenditure Review (Volume I: Executive Summary)	WB871006A
Zambia	Zambia: Public Expenditure Review (Volume II: Main Report) [Sections on Education]	WB871006B
Zambia	Zambia: Specialized Training Study	WB860603
Zambia	Zambia: University education and national needs	UNESCO881200B
Zambia	Joint Annual Review of Swedish Support to Education in Zambia, October 1988	SIDA881000C
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe: Joint Annual Education Sector Review 1988	SIDA880600A

*UNESCO DataBase Number composed of Agency + Date of Report

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